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FROM BEIRUT TO SIDON. THE COASTAL ROAD DESCRIBED BY WESTERNER TRAVELLERS (17TH-19TH CENTURIES).

MONIKA REKOWSKA | ARCHAEOLOGY & HISTORY IN THE LEBANON

ISSUE 50-51
AUTUMN-SPRING 2019-20, PP.
199-214.

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In a travel guide from the 1860s to the East describing the coastal route from Beirut to Sidon¹, various places worth seeing were mentioned, marking the subsequent stages of a one-day journey. After leaving Beirut and traveling for an hour, the first leg ended in ‘Khan el-Khalda’, identified as *Mutatio Heldua*, where it was suggested that the travelers should visit the Greek-Roman necropolis. The next stage of the journey took them to the ‘Nahr ed-Damour’ River (ancient *Tamyras*), where supposedly the remains of the pillars from a Roman bridge were visible. *Leontopolis* was also said to be located by the river. *Platanum*, the place where a battle had taken place in 218 BC between the armies of Antioch the Great and Ptolemy, was claimed to have been situated a little further south, on the same level as ‘Rás Sadiéh’ Cape. The next leg of the trip involved a compulsory stopover at ‘Khan Nebi-Younès (le Khân du prophète Jonas)’. In the nearby village of ‘El-Djyèh’, identified from around the mid-18th century as *Porphyreon*, it was worth noting the remnants of architectural features that testified to the antiquity of the spot. The penultimate stage of the journey involved travelling down a monotonous road, coinciding with the ancient route along the coast, leading to the ‘Nahr el-Aoualé’ River. After crossing the water, a very short half-hour journey along the beach took the travelers to Sidon, where they would spend the night.

This description is a summary of the available knowledge about the region in the mid-19th century based on information provided in various travelers’ accounts, who were at that time able to take the journey along the route. The high amount of such travelers is attested by Alexandre Laborde, who in 1827 noted that ‘de Beyrouth à Seide, on suit l’ancienne voie romaine qui est devenue la grande route de tous les voyageurs, et dont les sites, les antiquités et les souvenirs sont autant rebattus par les récits des touristes que le sol par les pieds de passants’ (Laborde 1837, 42). Even though this fragment of the important communication route running from the north to the south along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea was exceptionally frequently travelled, among the many who took the coastal road from Beirut to Sidon, very few included longer pieces of information about the area in their accounts. From the mid-17th century to the beginning of the 20th century, only a little over a dozen people wrote about the route anything more than only mentioning it in passing. According to William McClure Thomson, who travelled here in the mid-19th century, this fragment of the coast was very monotonous and uninteresting², and it must have seemed all the more so for those heading to Damascus, Baalbek or Jerusalem. As a result, it took one day to travel this section of the coastal road with only some stops along the way, while remarks about any landmarks were concise and limited to merely the few places mentioned above³. In consequence, as Robinson and Smith claimed in the mid-19th century, this part of the coast had not yet been thoroughly examined and there were no very precise maps (until the second half of the 19th century most used d’Anville’s rather inaccurate chart)⁴. The travelers paid more attention to the picturesque natural scenery and the rich vegetation. As one of those peregrinating through the area stated, ‘true, there is nothing of historic interest along the route, but the lover of nature will not regret this’ (Thomson 1859, vol. 1, 120). Thus, descriptions were provided of the landscape with wadis crisscrossing the area, of the picturesque villages on the slopes of the mountains, olive groves on the terraces, palm trees, fig trees and other examples of the rich vegetation (Arundale 1837, 114; Carne 1857, 17⁵; Thomson

1859, vol. 1, 79, 103)⁶. Above all Thomson devoted a lot of space to descriptions of the flora, especially the olive trees and olive oil production, going back to biblical times, a subject of his intense interest was also the agriculture in the Shûf region inland (Thomson, 1859, vol. 1, 65-76; 116-118).

The authors of the aforementioned guide advised travelers to hire dragomans for the journey, while simultaneously warning them about the guides' ignorance concerning history. It was suggested, therefore, that the travelers should plan their route *d'après ses livres* (Joanne, Isambert 1861, maps between p. 572 and 573, 603) as much as they could. Such a 'traveler's bookcase' must have certainly included, alongside various ancient texts (Strabo, Pliny, *the Itinerarium Antonini*, *the Itinerarium Burdigalense*), diverse printed accounts written by previous enthusiasts of such peregrinations. These popular texts, reprinted many times and frequently translated into other languages, functioned as guidebooks for other travelers, which often led to a certain repetitiveness of observations about the monuments seen along the way. Relatively few added new information, principally such that required talking to the local inhabitants, a longer stay in the area or devoting some additional time to conducting a more precise prospection. Nevertheless, an analysis of the available accounts shows a gradual increase in collected information – from the first topographical findings (Cornelius de Bruijn, Laurent d'Arvieux) to the results of the archaeological prospecting of the area (Ernest Renan). At the same time, these accounts give testimony to the gradual degradation of the monuments. This process, accelerated in the second half of the 20th century by construction works, has led us to approach such travelers' descriptions as an irreplaceable source of knowledge about the archaeology of the region. Their observations regarding the ruins and landscape enable forming a reconstructed image of this part of the coast in the period from the 17th to the 19th century, taking into account the above-mentioned ancient sites.

It is impossible to subject all the travelers' accounts to a meticulous analysis. For the purpose of this text, only a dozen or so of them have been selected, representative of the individual phases of the discovery of Lebanon by Westerners. The authors included artists interested in new experiences (Cornelius de Bruijn, Alexandre Laborde, Isidore Justin Séverin Taylor), a merchant who had settled in Lebanon (Laurent D'Arvieux), erudite travelers interested in archaeology (Giovanni Filippo Mariti, Félicien de Saulcy, Honoré Théodore, duc de Luynes), British officers (Charles Leonard Irby and James Mangles, Charles Wilson), priests with academic ambitions (Richard Pococke, John Wilson, Edward Robinson and Eli Smith, William McClure Thomson), a journalist (James Silk Buckingham) and an archaeologist (Ernest Renan). Their accounts provide invaluable information about the area of interest (cf. Sources).

Most of those traveling between Beirut and Sidon were aware that the modern coastal road ran along the same ancient route leading from the Sinai Peninsula to Antioch. In the 19th century, significant fragments of the paved road were still easily observable in the area. As its remains have largely been covered by asphalt, the information from the accounts is all the more valuable as it

documents features that no longer exist. Some of the travelers, who mentioned the road in a more general way and only in passing, merely provide evidence of the awareness of its existence (Mariti⁷, Laborde⁸, Irby and Mangles⁹). However, others noted its visible traces in a few specified places – in the immediate vicinity of the Ras Saadiye Peninsula, Neby Younis (Robinson, Smith 1841, vol. 3, 430; 1856b, 34; de Saulcy 1853, 32; Thomson 1859, vol. 1, 103), and north of the Awwali River (Robinson, Smith 1856a, vol. 2, 488). As can be deduced from the descriptions, the ancient road ran precisely along the coastal line, crossing over bridges at wadi and river outlets flowing into the sea¹⁰, and its last traces only began to fade at the sandy beaches on the northern outskirts of Sidon. Robinson and Smith are the authors of some interesting observations concerning the construction of the road, stating that at the points where it traverses the rocky peninsulas a low wall supposedly separated the road from the inland region¹¹. In turn, Thomson noted fragments of preserved mortar made from crushed rock covering the road's surface¹². Robinson was the only one to mention a milestone observed to the north of Neby Younis, unknown from any other sources, unfortunately without providing a transcription or information about the inscription (Robinson, Smith 1856a, vol. 2, 488)¹³.

Regardless of whether one traveled from the north to the south or in the opposite direction, stops were planned at those spots that offered travelers a resting place or an attractive sightseeing opportunity.

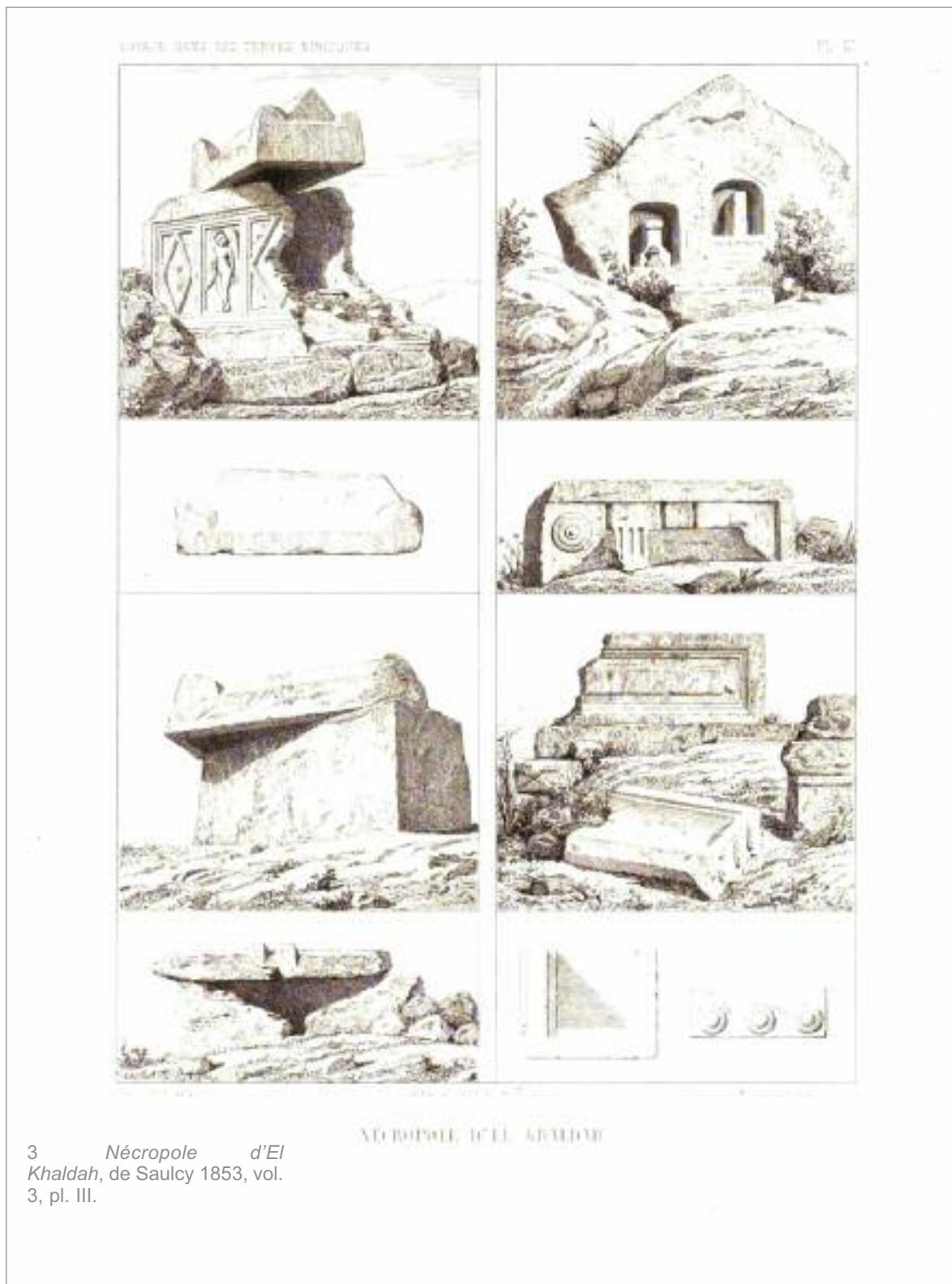
One such spot that fulfilled both these functions was **Khan Khalde** (figs. 1-3). It has been identified with ancient *Mutatio Heldua* (according to the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*), while the first time it made its appearance under the distorted modern name ‘Carney’ in Richard Pococke’s text (1745, vol. 2, 89). The traveler described the individual architectural features that could be seen on the surface (‘a fine piece of entablature, some large hewn stones’), two marble vases, sarcophagi carved into the rock (‘several stone coffins cut out of the rock, with large covers’), as well as mentioning the wall, over 3.5 m wide [‘twelve feet’], extending further to the east of the sarcophagi. Buckingham (1825, 437) must also have been describing the necropolis in Khan Khalde as he mentions numerous stone sarcophagi, some of which had lids with preserved decorations (‘ornamented with the usual devices of wreaths, &c., on the sides’). Irby and Mangles (1844, 63), who only wrote a few sentences about their journey from Sidon to Beirut in their account, mentioned (without providing the name of the settlement) the numerous stone sarcophagi with massive lids visible from the road, of which some remained unopened. According to John Wilson (1847, 210), even though some of them had carved decorations (‘wreaths of the palm’), they were deprived of inscriptions. This and the fact that there were no signs of any settlement from Greek and Roman times in the vicinity of the necropolis led him to believe that the sarcophagi originated from the Phoenician period. Robinson and Smith (1856a, 489; 1856b, 33) made similar remarks, even though – due to the lack of any inscription – they refrained from directly identifying the necropolis. A much broader description of the necropolis in *Heldua* was given by Félicien de Saulcy (1850-1851). The traveler, unlike those mentioned above, considered the place so interesting that he decided to spend there the night



1 *Sarcophages antiques.* Ces débris d'une haute antiquité se voyent sur la route qui mène de Béryte à Sidon, Cassas 1799, vol. 2, 79.

2 *Sarcophages,* Thomson 1859, vol. 1, 80.



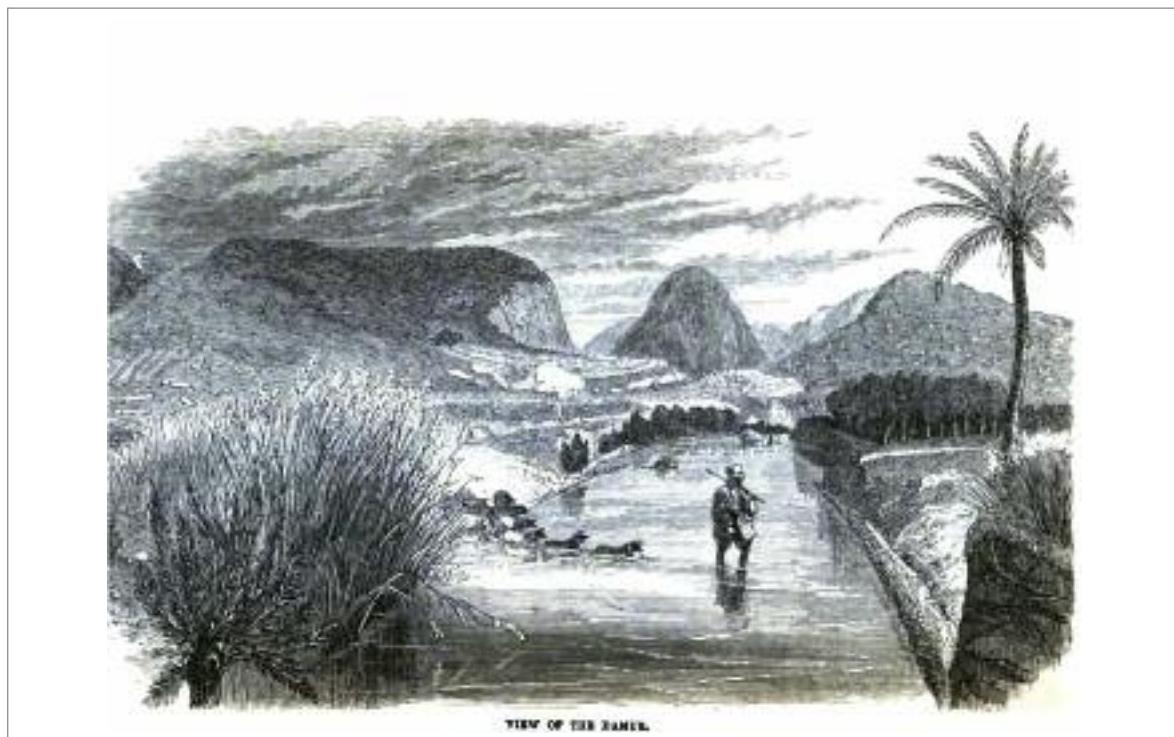


3 Nécropole d'El
Khaldah, de Saulcy 1853, vol.
3, pl. III.

and not simply make a short stop as the others did. His objective was a more in-depth exploration of the necropolis and the surrounding ruins. Only a decade after Irby and Mangles' visit, he noted that all the sarcophagi visible on the hillside had been opened and plundered ('Tous ont été brisés violamment et profanés. Il n'y en a pas un seul qui soit resté intact'), with broken lids lying on the ground. He was intrigued by one sarcophagus with a decoration portraying a figure still intact, which he then proceeded to immortalize in drawings, as he did with some other sarcophagi (de Saulcy, 1853, vol. 1, 26-27, pl. III). Even though he found a Greek inscription on one of the sarcophagi bearing the legible name of the deceased Juliana, he believed that the necropolis had been founded during the Phoenician settlement period. Baron Taylor (1854, 43) referred in his short description of the necropolis in Heldua to his predecessor's accounts (Robinson's and de Saulcy's), himself only giving special mention to one sarcophagus with a preserved figural decoration: a winged genius between two portraits. Thomson's impressions were much the same as those before him ('Certainly [they were] neither Greeks nor Romans'). Among the sarcophagi scattered across the mountain sides, his attention was arrested by those with figural decorations – aside from the sarcophagus with the winged genius mentioned by his predecessors and a few adorned with palm branches, he also referred to yet another one decorated with sculpted a representation of a warrior ('the large one has three warlike figures'). His description was supplemented by a drawing, which – aside from some irrelevant details – is identical to Cassas' earlier drawing (Thomson 1859, vol. 1, 82, 86 [illustration], Cassas 1799, vol. 2, 79). While visiting Khan Khalde, the Duke de Luynes followed de Saulcy's instructions, and as in the case of his predecessors paid special attention to the sarcophagus decorated with a winged genius and female bust, while the others, lacking decorations, seemed to him to be of little interest (de Luynes 1874, 15-16). Thomson noted that many of the sarcophagi had been strongly damaged in contemporary times, with confirmation of the destructive activities of the local inhabitants coming in the form of ovens for burning limestone, next to which he saw 'men in the very act of breaking up sarcophagi to feed them' (Thomson 1859, vol. 1, 80).

The remains of the impressive but completely isolated necropolis evoked not only the travelers' admiration but also their enormous surprise ¹⁴. However, based on his predecessors' observations and his own knowledge and experience, as well as on additional information he gained from Gaillardot, Renan was the first to finally interpret the place as a sanctuary because; les sites n'offrent pas d'assise pour une ville; les temples, en Phénicie, sont presque toujours entourés de somptueux tombeaux' (Renan 1864, 515).

The travelers also made an obligatory stopover at the **Damur** crossing, a river identified by Pococke as ancient *Tamyras* (Pococke 1745, vol. 2, 89). The river's current, peaceful and quite lazy during the summer season, would become so rough and treacherous that the masses of water destroyed subsequent stone bridges. It was not until the end of the 19th century that an iron bridge was built (as noted by Charles Wilson [1881, 40]) that was finally able to withstand the destructive forces. The modest remains of the Roman bridge were mentioned by Mariti (1787, 93), Laborde (1837, 42), Robinson and Smith (1856b, 34). Thomson's account provides the most information as he specifies



4 *View of the Damur*, Thomson 1859, vol. 1, 86.

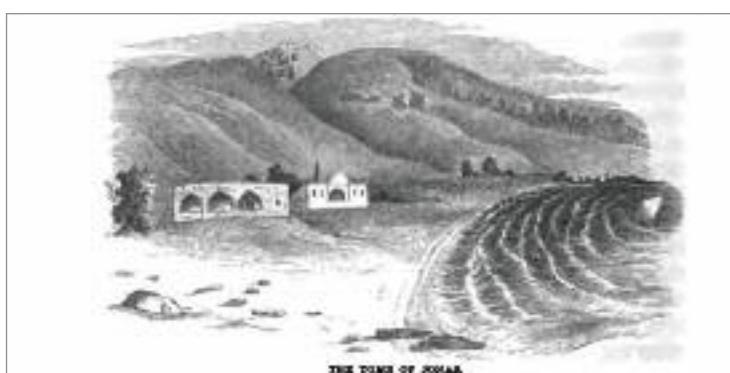
that a wall meant to regulate the course of this section of the river supplemented the Roman structure. However, it was not able to prevent the destruction. He attached a drawing (fig. 4) to his description, showing both the ruins of the bridge and the remains of the described wall (Thomson, 1859, vol. 1, 82, and illustration on p. 86).

Not far from the river crossing (on its southern side), Pococke mentions seeing the “Boorje-Damour” Tower. Lord Buckingham might perhaps have been referring to this same structure as “Boorje Khordlee”. He described its construction as built in a few phases – the modern superstructure was erected on top of the older Roman building¹⁵. He thought that it might have been some kind of guard tower. Robinson and Smith (1856a, 488; 1856b, 34) shared Buckingham’s opinion in this regards, while also locating the spot of the famous battle between the armies of Antioch the Great and Ptolemy in 218 BC. Thomson (1859, vol. 1, 79-80 and illustration) probably interpreted this very same tower as one of the watchtowers on route between Jerusalem and Constantinople, constructed, after him, in the times of St Helena and at her commission.

More or less midway between Beirut and Sidon, in the direct vicinity of the village of **Jiyeh**, the travelers could rest in the Khan located right next to the legendary place where Jonas’ remains had been thrown out onto the beach (providing inspiration for the name Khan Nebi Younis – figs. 5-7). This place was first mentioned by de Bruijn (1725, 349 [‘Gie’]), and then subsequently by almost all



5 *Nebbi-Djounis. Lieu où Jonas fût vomi sur le rivage*, Laborde
1837, pl. XXV.



6 *The Tomb of Jonas*, Thomson 1859, vol. 1, 94.



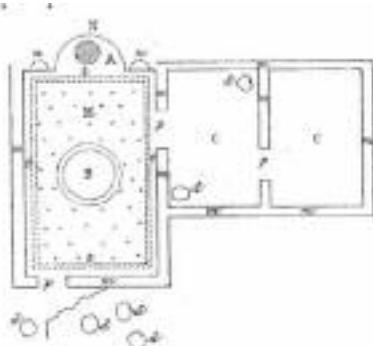
7 *Khan Neby Yūnas (the Khan of the Prophet Jonas). Adjoining a Muslim shrine sacred to his memory*, Wilson 1881, vol. 2, 44.

the travelers. Laurent D'Arvieux (1982, 135-136) mentioned the mosque that commemorated the event. Similar observations were made by others (Pococke [1725, 89], Buckingham [1825, 437], Laborde [1837, 42], John Wilson [1847, 211], Robinson and Smith [1856a, 488], de Saulcy [1853, 31], Thomson [1859, 54], Renan [1864, 509], the Duke de Luynes [1874, 16], Charles Wilson [1881, 40]), while some also attached drawings to their descriptions (Laborde 1837, 42; Thomson 1859, 84; Wilson 1881, 44). Pococke (1725, 89) was the first to propose that this might be the spot at which the settlement of *Porphyreon*, known from various ancient sources (Polybius V.68; Ps-Scyl. 104; *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, Proc. *De Aed.* 5.9.23), had been located. The proposed identification met with widespread approval (except from John Wilson), while confirmation of the ancient settlement that must have existed here came in the form of various architectural fragments. Pococke (1725, 89) was also the first to note traces of buildings visible in the wadi above ('ruins on each side of a mountain torrent'), as well as mentioning various individual architectural fragments ('a broken pillar, a Corinthian capital'). Subsequent travelers added new information about various remnants discovered accidentally in the course of construction work or intentionally during their searches for ancient monuments. 'Excavations' conducted on the sandy hill were mentioned in 1857 by Thomson¹⁶, and by Renan¹⁷ three years later. In addition, according to Laborde, even without making too much of an effort, it was possible to find the remnants of 'an ancient town' in many spots, making this place exceptionally interesting¹⁸. Lord Buckingham (1825, 436-437), travelling a few decades after Pococke, mentioned a partially uncovered small room, whose walls were covered with plaster and with an 'arched roof' above, which (groundlessly?) was identified as a fragment of a private *thermae*. Robinson and Smith (1856a, 488), who in their description referred to Pococke's text, added information about a sarcophagus 'with a rude ornament sculptured on its front and end', used as a reservoir within the framework of the public water intake system. They also mentioned a granite ca. 3-m long column lying on the ground (Robinson, Smith 1856b, 35), which was also observed many years later by Renan (cf. below). A few columns and unidentified remnants ('beaux débris antiques'), the remains of an ancient town, were also mentioned by de Saulcy (1853, vol. 1, 32). A significant change in the investigation of *Pophyreon's* archaeological remnants only occurred as a result of the exploration conducted during Renan's expedition in 1860-1861. Renan, who in the course of his *Mission Scientifique* was involved in the exploration of four other sites, entrusted the excavations (as well as the precise prospection of the surrounding area) to a certain Gaillardot, who was a doctor living permanently in Sidon, and thus had the time and opportunity to conduct them. Renan felt encouraged to commission the excavations as a result of his conviction that the coastal dunes concealed the ruins of an ancient settlement. During his first visit, he had the opportunity of seeing an uncovered room with a preserved painting – the result of conducted earthworks aimed at acquiring building material (cf. above). Already then the decoration's shape and subject matter (a painting depicting animals, peacocks and ostriches) and the painted inscription with the name **NIKAΣ** provided evidence of the building's Christian nature²⁰. Renan's intuition had not failed him, even if he was only to find this out after he had left Lebanon. In March 1863, as a result of the excavations initiated by Emir Bashir's widow, a very well-preserved mosaic measuring 7.41 by 4.60 m was discovered. Gaillardot informed Renan about the find by

post (letter dated to 1st of March 1863), while in the subsequent letter (dated to 16th of March 1863) Gaillardot sent the researcher a sketch depicting the shape and placement of the mosaic, an exact description of its decoration and a transcription of the mosaic's inscription (figs. 8-9). He also suggested that due to the shape and size of the mosaic it must have adorned the floor of a small Greek-type church. Gaillardot expressed a willingness to undertake further excavations in the nearest vicinity (this inclination resulted from his belief in the existence of a second larger church also decorated with a mosaic). However, the fate of this endeavor as well as that of the described mosaic itself remain unknown. In a letter from 30th of May, Gaillardot informed Renan that by the decision of Dawūd Pasha the find had been offered to the Napoleon III Museum, and that until it was moved it would be covered with sand and left where it was. Nonetheless, it most certainly must have been displayed during the visits of special guests. One such visitor was the Duke de Luynes (1874, 16), who in 1864 must have seen the mosaic as evidenced not only by his description but also by the attached schematic drawing and transcription of the inscription (fig. 10). Currently, the mosaic is considered to be missing.

8

Mosaic from Neby Younis (after Gaillardot's drawing), Renan 1864, 512.



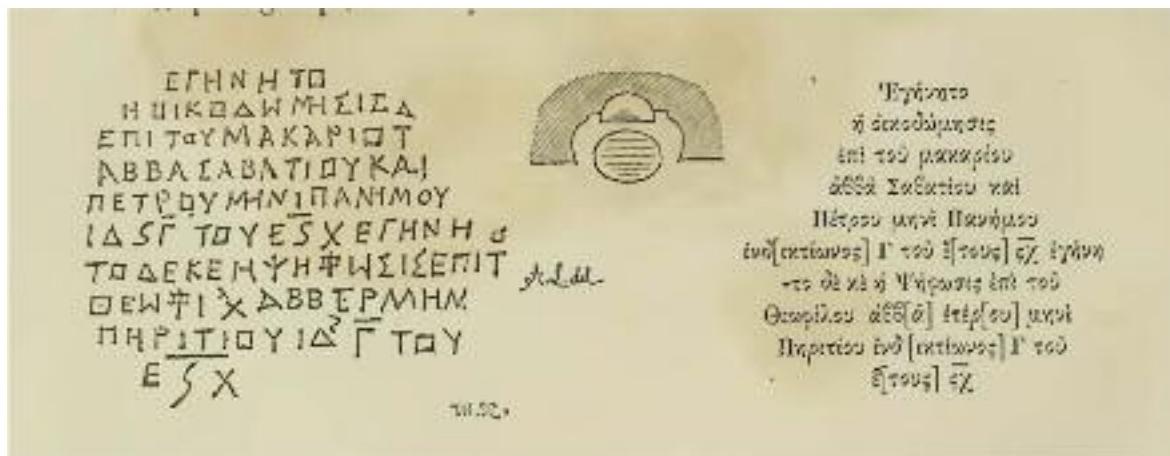
... murs de peu d'épaisseur et formés de pierres de petite dimension; pp, portes; CC, chambres; M, mosaïque; A, inscription; nn, deux petites niches pratiquées dans le mur, ne descendant pas jusqu'à terre comme la niche N, sur le sol de laquelle se trouve l'inscription écrite en petits cubes rouges sur un fond bleu. La mosaïque est aussi formée d'un fond blanc à petits cubes, parsemé de petites fleurs rouges; elle est entourée d'une torsade t, de diverses couleurs, semblable à celle que nous avons trouvée à Djébeil, à l'ouest de la grosse tour. Au milieu, en B, cercle formé par une torsade analogue à la première, et au centre duquel se trouve dessiné une sorte de vase dont la forme est assez difficile à décrire. Au-dessous de ce vase est une perdrix; de chaque côté, à la partie supérieure, un paon, et au-dessous un animal (chien, loup ou renard). Ce qui est assez remarquable c'est que la mosaïque pose sur un rocher dans lequel sont creusées des cheminées dd, dont plusieurs, vidées, n'ont pas conduit à plus de deux mètres de profondeur; là elles se terminent en cul-de-sac. ±

**ΕΙΗΝΗΤΟ
 ΗΟΙΚΟΔΩΜΗΣΙΣ
 ΕΠΙΤΟΥΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΤ
 ΑΒΒΑΣΑΒΑΤΙΟΥΚΑΙ
 ΠΕΤΡΟΥΜΗΝΙΟΔΗΜΤ
 ΙΑΓ. ΤΟΥΕΣΧΕΓΗΝΗ
 ΤΩΔΕΚΕΗΨΗΤΡΩΠΟΣΕΠΙΤ
 ΘΕΩΦΩΧΑΒΚΕΡΜΗΜ
 ΠΗΡΙΤΙΟΥΙΑΣΡΤΟΥ**
ΕΞ

Ἔγινητο
 ἡ οἰκοδόμησις
 ἐπὶ τοῦ μακαριοτ(άτου)
 Λεβαδία Σαβατίου καὶ
 Πέτρου, μηνὶ πανήμου
 ιδ?? τοῦ εξχ'. Ἔγινητο
 θὲ κέ η ψήφωσις ἐπὶ τ(οῦ)
 Θεωφιλ(εστάτου) Χασσέρ, μηνὶ
 πηριτίου ιδ?? τοῦ
 εξχ'

9 Mosaic inscription (after Gaillardot's transcription), Renan 1864, 513.

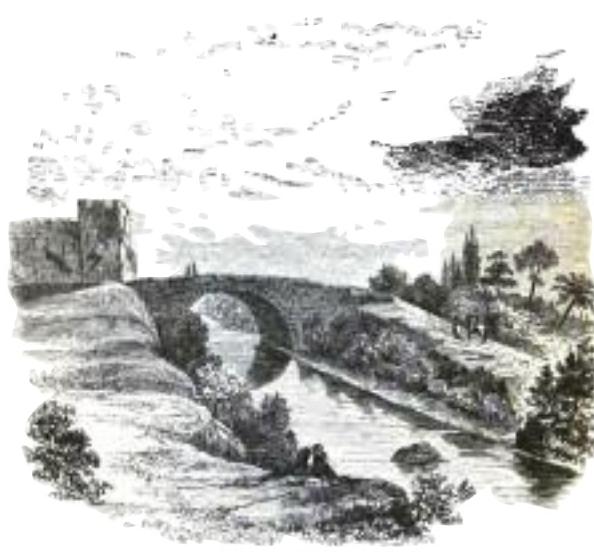
The last stop before Sidon was the **Awwali** river crossing. Its identification as *Botrenus*, first proposed by Robinson and Smith (1856a, 488), was not placed in any doubt by subsequent travelers. Many of them went no farther than noting the fact of crossing the water. A few mentioned the single-span arch bridge when describing the river crossing. The history of the bridge built in 1631 by Emir Fakhr ed-Din had already been reported by Mariti (1787, 94), but Lord Buckingham in 1816 was the first to note that the bridge had been built using blocks from the disassembly of another ancient bridge, traces of which he had observed nearby (Buckingham 1825, 435). Thomson (1859, vol. 1, 121-122) made a slightly different observation, stating that he had seen Phoenician signs on many of the blocks. It is in fact true that the above-mentioned emir had used the blocks from the nearby Temple of Eshmun (which seems to have also been noted by Thomson) to



10 The mosaic and inscription, de Luynes 1874, 16.

construct the new bridge on the ruins of the Roman bridge. The traveler also supplemented his description with a drawing (fig. 11) ²¹.

In accordance with Robinson and Smith's claim (1856b, 1), it would require many years of systematic research and the involvement of a lot of people to provide an archaeological image of this region ('To cultivate aright the particular field of historical topography, would require a residence of several years, and a visit to every town and village, to every mountain and valley, to every trace of antiquity and ruin'). This challenge was only tackled by archaeologists after the Second World War. In the year 1967 the site in Khan Khalde was explored by Roger Saidah, in 1975 he started the exploration in Jiyeh which as of 1997 became the subject of modern research conducted by Polish archaeologists from the University of Warsaw.

11 *The bridge over the Owely*, Thompson 1859, vol. 1, 122.

TRAVELERS in chronological order (the year of birth and year of death are provided in brackets):

1. 1658-1665: Laurent D'Arvieux (1635-1702)
2. 1674-1693: Cornelius de Bruijn (1652-1727)
3. 1732-1742: Richard Pococke (1704-1765)
4. 1767: Giovanni Mariti (1736-1806)
5. *ca.* 1816: James Silk Buckingham (1786-1855)
6. 1816-1818: Charles Leonard Irby (1789-1845), James Mangles (1786-1867)
7. 1824-1828: Alexandre Laborde (1773-1842)
8. *ca.* 1830-1838?: Isidore Justin Séverin Taylor (1789-1879)
9. 1843: John Wilson (1804-1875)
10. 1838, 1852: Edward Robinson (1794-1863), Eli Smith (1801-1857)
11. 1850-1851: Louis Félicien Joseph Caignart de Saulcy, known as Félicien de Saulcy (1807-1880)
12. 1857: William McClure Thomson (1806-1894)
13. 1860-1861: Ernest Renan (1823-1892)
14. 1864: Honoré Théodore, duc de Luynes (1802-1867)
15. *ca.* 1867-1870: Charles Wilson (1836-1905)

1 'Route 132. De Beyrouth à Saint-Jean d'Acre par Saïda (Sidon) et Sour (Tyr)' (Joanne, Isambert 1861, 717-719).

2 'The ride from Beirût to Sidon is one of the most tedious and least interesting in Syria. [...] monotony that varies not' (Thomson 1859, vol. 1, 124).

3 Henry Maundrell, the author of an exceptionally popular account, valued for its objectivity and factual accuracy, treated as a guidebook for subsequent travelers and reprinted numerous times, despite being actively interested in Antiquity (for example, he provided descriptions of the monuments in Beirut, including transcriptions of few of the inscriptions) summed up the distance between the Damour and Awwale Rivers in one sentence (Maundrell 1963, 58).

4 '[...] the route along the coast between Tyre and Beirut, although often travelled, has never been accurately described. Indeed, all this portion of the coast of Syria has never yet been fully surveyed, nor the positions of its chief towns correctly determined; and although it is now constantly visited by steamers and vessels of war, yet there exists up to the present time (1856), neither a good chart of the coast, nor the materials from which one might be constructed with new maps and plans' (Robinson, Smith 1856a, vol. 2, 444).

5 'The cottages and scattered hamlets embowered in mulberry groves, or shaded with clusters of vines and fig-trees, look very picturesque on the mountain-side' (Carne 1857, 17).

6 'Picturesque villages by the hundred sleep at his feet, cling to his side, hide in his bosom, or

stand out in bold relief upon his ample shoulders, giving life and animation to the scene' (Thomson 1859, vol. 1, 79); [...] there are villages also, hidden away in the wadies, with vineyards, and olive-orchards, and fields for corn, which produce no mean crop' (Thomson 1859, vol. 1, 103).

7 'La strada che si tenne lungo la marina andando verso Seida è certamente una delle antiche Vie Romane, ed in quà, ed in là se ne osservano le vestigia' (Mariti 1787, 93).

8 'De Beyrouth à Seide, on suit l'ancienne voie romaine' (Laborde 1837, 42).

9 'We met occasionally with the remains of the ancient paved way' (Irby, Mangles 1844, 62).

10 Robinson and Smith (1856b, 35) noted the remains of a bridge connecting the banks of the wadi Shehim (wadi Zaini); the remnants of a Roman bridge on top of which a modern-day one was being constructed, was also observed on the Damur and Awwali Rivers (cf. below).

11 'The ancient pavement is mostly worn or torn away, and the path is on the surface of the rock below; but the wall or masonry along one side or the other of the road is everywhere visible' (Robinson, Smith, 1856b, 34)

12 'But they were probably covered over with some sort of composition, not unlike the crushed rock of our modern macadamized roads. I have seen specimens of this in good preservation' (Thomson 1859, 103).

13 The milestone located in Khan Khalde was only found and

published at the beginning of the 20th century (Ronzevalle 1903).

14 Only de Saulcy commented on the type of tell ('monceaux de ruines'), underneath which – in his opinion – ruins of a town were located to which the necropolis must have belonged (de Saulcy 1853, vol. 1, 26-27).

15 'An old ruined tower, the lower part of which, with some vestiges of Roman arches, seemed to denote it of ancient structure, though the upper part, with loop-holes in the walls, appeared more modern' (Buckingham 1825, 437).

16 'Here are men on our left digging stone out of this sandhill, and you may certain that they are uncovering the remains of some ancient town. [...] I suppose that these sand-covered ruins mark the exact site of that city' (Thomson, 1859, vol. 1, 89).

17 'Un monticule, surtout, au bord de la mer, couvre probablement un monument qui aura arrêté le sable et formé une petite butte. Quand je passai à Néby-Younès, on venait d'ouvrir une de ces dunes pour en tirer des pierres de construction' (Renan 1864, 510).

18 'Comme l'archéologue, sans fouiller le sol, trouve de tous côtés les restes d'une ancienne ville, on peut dire que ce point réunit tous les genres d'intérêt' (Laborde 1837, 42).

19 'On voyait éventrées de jolies chambres peintes, présentant des animaux, des paons affrontés, des autruches, sous de petits arceaux peints très ornés, rappelant la disposition des canons qu'on trouve en tête des beaux évangéliaires byzantins.

Alentour gisaient de nombreuses pierres couvertes de stuc et de dessins au trait. Un fragment portait en rouge les lettres: NIKAΣ. [...] Il est évident qu'il y eut vers cet endroit une ville assez importante, dont la floraison paraît avoir lieu surtout à l'époque chrétienne' (Renan 1864, 510).

20 'La mosaïque est aussi formée d'un fond blanc à petits cubes, parsemé de petites fleurs rouges; elle est entourée d'une torsade, de diverses couleurs [...]. Au milieu [est un] cercle formé par une torsade analogue à la première, et au centre duquel se trouve dessiné une sorte de vase dont la forme est assez difficile à décrire. Au-dessous de ce vase est un perdrix; de chaque côté, à la partie supérieure, un paon, et au-dessous un animal (chien, loup ou renard)' (Renan 1864, 510).

21 'This substantial bridge, of a single arch, which here spans the Owlery. It was built by him, but out of materials far more ancient. Many of the stones bear the mark of the Phoenician bevel, on which I always look with the respect due to old age' (Thomson 1859, vol. 1, 121-122).

LIST OF DRAWINGS

(in geographical order):

KHAN KHALDE

1. *Sarcophages antiques.* Ces débris d'une haute antiquité se voyent sur la route qui mène de Béryte à Sidon, Cassas 1799, vol. 2, 79.
2. *Sarcophages,* Thomson 1859, vol. 1, 80.
3. *Nécropole d'El Khaldah,* de Saulcy 1853, vol. 3, pl. III.

DAMUR

4. *View of the Damur,* Thomson 1859, vol. 1, 86.

NEBY YOUNIS / JIYEH

5. *Nebbi-Djounis. Lieu où Jonas fût vomi sur le rivage,* Laborde 1837, pl. XXV.
6. *The Tomb of Jonas,* Thomson 1859, vol. 1, 94.
7. *Khan Neby Yūnas (the Khan of the Prophet Jonas). Adjoining a Muslim shire sacred to his memory,* Wilson 1881, vol. 2, 44.
8. Mosaic from Neby Younis (after Gaillardot's drawing), Renan 1864, 512.
9. Mosaic inscription (after Gaillardot's transcription), Renan 1864, 513.
10. The mosaic and inscription, de Luynes 1874, 16.

AWWALI

11. *Bridge over the Owely,* Thomson 1859, vol. 1, 122.

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